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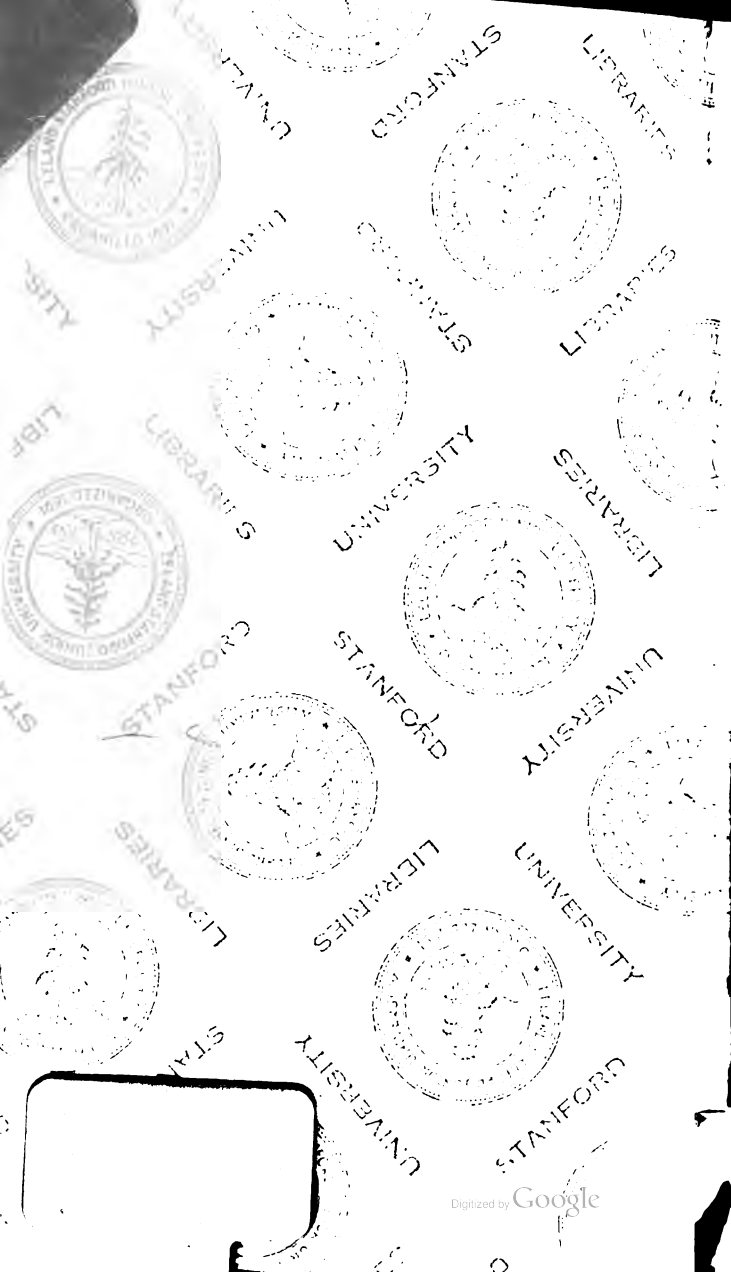
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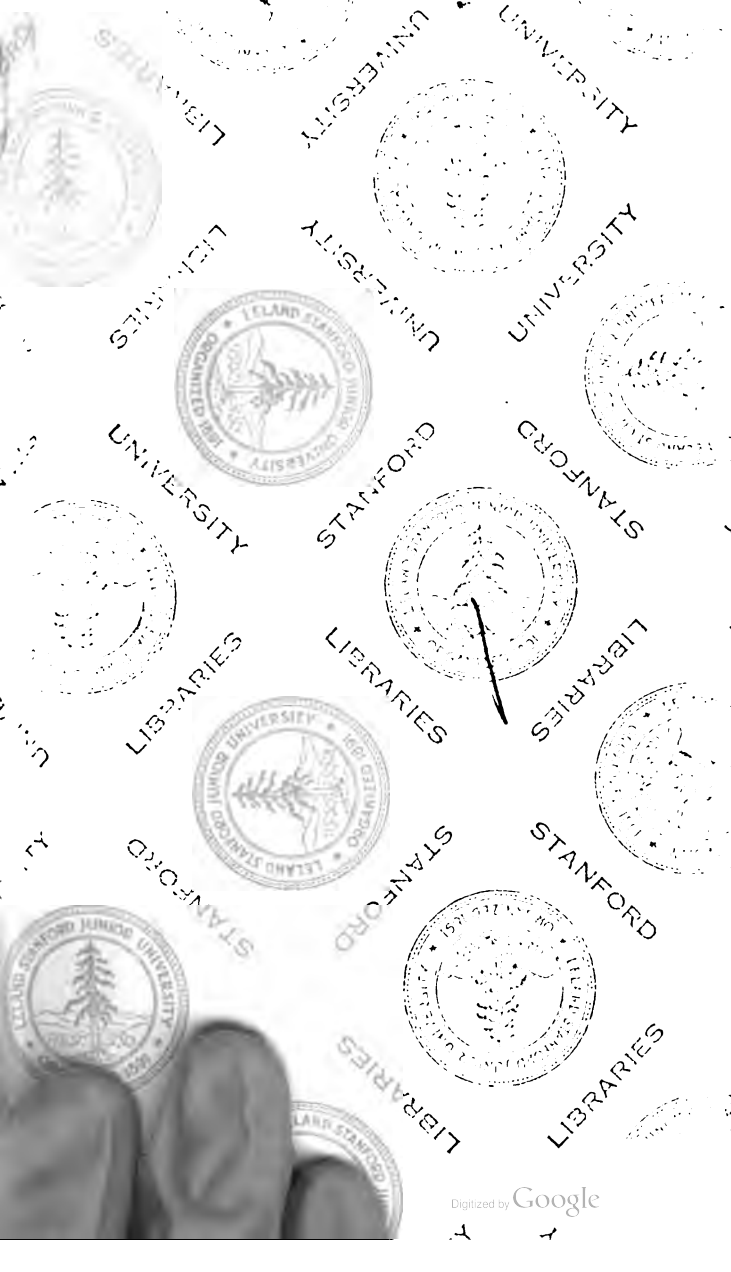
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spirit of impatience rising, and distrust in respect to the perpetuity of our republic; and I am sure that these fears are well founded, and am glad that they exist. It is the star of hope in our dark horizon. Fear is what we need, as the ship needs wind on a rocking sea, after a storm, to prevent foundering. But when our fear and our efforts shall correspond with our danger, the danger is past. For it is not the impossibility of self-preservation which threatens us; nor is it the unwillingness of the nation to pay the price of the preservation, as she has paid the price of the purchase of our liberties. It is inattention and inconsideration, protracted till the crisis is past, and the things which belong to our peace are hid from our eyes. And blessed be God, that the tokens of a national waking up, the harbinger of God's mercy, are multiplying upon us!

There is at the West an enthusias-

We must educate the whole nation while we may. All—all who would vote must be enlightened, and reached by the restraining and preserving energies of Heaven. The lanes and alleys—the highways and hedges—the abodes of filth and sordid poverty must be entered, and the young immortals sought out, and brought up to the light of intellectual and moral daylight. This can be done. God, if we are prompt and willing, will give us the time. But if, in this our day, we neglect the things that belong to our peace, we shall find no place for repentance, though we seek it carefully and with tears.

But the vast amount of uneducated population in our land already calls upon us loudly to set about the work of rearing every where the institutions requisite for universal education.

According to the most accurate estimation which can be obtained, there

are in the United States about a million and a half of children without the means of education, and about an equal number of adults, either foreigners or native Americans, that are uneducated. These large masses of unenlightened mind lie in almost every portion of this nation, and frightful statistics have been officially given by legislative investigation in several of our states. In one of the smaller eastern states there are nearly thirty thousand adults and children that cannot read or write. In one of the largest there are *four hundred thousand* adults and children who have had no instruction, and no means provided. In one of the western states, one third of all the children in the state are destitute of any provision for education. These are the states who have taken the lead in making legislative investigation. Equally appalling developments await many of the other states so soon as they have

councils, conquered Greece? and how, by intestine divisions, Rome fell?

If the potentates of Europe have no design upon our liberties, what means the paying of the passage and emptying out upon our shores such floods of pauper emigrants—the contents of the poor-house and the sweepings of the streets?—multiplying tumults and violence, filling our prisons, and crowding our poor-houses, and quadrupling our taxation, and sending annually accumulating thousands to the polls to lay their inexperienced hand upon the helm of our power? Does Metternich imagine that there is no party spirit in our land, whose feverish urgency would facilitate their naturalization and hasten them to the ballot box?—and no demagogues, who for a little brief authority, however gained, would sell their country to an everlasting bondage? A foreign in-

the action and bearing of political causes upon our institutions, are more familiar at Rome and Vienna, than with us; and that tracts and maps are in circulation, explanatory of the capacious West, and pointing out the most fertile soils and most favored locations, and inviting to emigration. These means of a stimulated expatriation are corroborated by the copious and rapidly increasing correspondence of those who have already arrived, and the increasing facilities of transportation.

But if, upon examination, it should appear that three-fourths of the foreign emigrants whose accumulating tide is rolling in upon us, are, through the medium of their religion and priesthood, as entirely accessible to the control of the potentates of Europe as if they were an army of soldiers, enlisted and officered, and spreading over the land; then, indeed, should we have just occa-

whose ascendancy and continuance might, in closely contested elections, be thought to depend on Catholic suffrage. Should it be asserted that the clergy of every denomination, can or do exert as decisive a political influence over their people as the Catholic clergy, the assertion is notoriously untrue.

The ministers of no Protestant sect could or would dare to attempt to regulate the votes of their people as the Catholic priests can do, who at the confessional learn all the private concerns of their people, and have almost unlimited power over the conscience as it respects the performance of every civil or social duty.

There is another point of dissimilarity of still greater importance. The opinions of the Protestant clergy are congenial with liberty—they are chosen by the people who have been educated as freemen, and they are depen-

tronage to favor or to punish those who favor or obstruct their views. And if while they are few and feeble, compared with the whole nation, their consolidated action gives them such various and extended influence, how will its power extend and become omnipresent and resistless as emigration shall quadruple their numbers and action on the political and business men of the nation?

No government is more complex and difficult of preservation than a republic, and in no political associations do little adverse causes produce more disastrous results. Of all the influences, none is more pernicious than a corps of men acting systematically and perseveringly for its own ends upon a community unapprized of their doings, and undisciplined to meet and counteract them. A tenth part of the suffrage of the nation, thus condensed and wielded by the Catholic powers of Europe, might de-

blood, JUSTIFIED BY THEIR PRINCIPLES and *perpetuated by Catholic powers, and not disavowed by his holiness or by a council,* THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS ACCOUNTABLE, whatever may be the personal opinion of particular individuals or particular departments of that great community.

In our animadversions, however, even on these things, a declamatory, virulent, contemptuous, sarcastic, taunting, denunciatory style is as unchristian as it is in bad taste and indiscreet. The invidious technics of the old controversy have gone into oblivion, and it is impossible to bring back the image and body of the times gone by as they stood in dreadful reality around our persecuted fathers; and however the urgency of oppression in a rough age may palliate the use of such terms by them, sound argument with meek firmness had been better even then: and it is one of the most hopeful signs of the present times;

that public sentiment demands such courtesy of all religious controvertists now, and will not endure a dialect of rudeness, ill-temper and violence. If the reaction upon Catholics for the use of such language is not as stern and powerful as on Protestants, it is only because as strangers and a minority, more aggressive language will be tolerated in them than the Protestant majority will be permitted to hurl back; while even they, in the use of invidious terms, and the manifestation of a virulent, discourteous and contemptuous spirit, are fast using up both the sympathy and patience of the community in their behalf.

Besides, the Catholics in great numbers are with us, and their increase by emigration, if it can be regulated, can never be wholly prevented. Our rich unoccupied territory, our national works ~~and their~~ poverty and oppression at home

as the means of doing good, were the very worst that could have been chosen, and the very best as the means of aiding the cause they were intended to oppose. Important facts and powerful arguments have been given, but so mingled with invective and taunt, and sarcasm, and reviling, as to injure the cause as much by the disgust occasioned, as it was aided by the power of argument.

It is to the political claims and character of the Catholic religion, and its church and state alliance with the political and ecclesiastical governments of Europe hostile to liberty, and the tendency upon our republican institutions of flooding the nation suddenly with emigrants of this description, on whom for many years European influence may be exerted with such ease, and certainty, and power, that we call the attention of the people of this nation. Did the Catholics regard themselves

vation, and the denial of it is TREASON or the INFATUATION OF FOLLY.

It is the duty also enforced by the unparalleled novelty and urgency of our condition ; for since the irruption of the northern barbarians, the world has never witnessed such a rush of dark-minded population from one country to another, as is now leaving Europe; and dashing upon our shores. It is not the *northern* hive, but the *whole* hive which is swarming out upon our cities and unoccupied territory as the effect of overstocked population, of civil oppression, of crime and poverty, and political and ecclesiastical design. Clouds like the locusts of Egypt are rising from the hills and plains of Europe, and on the wings of every wind, are coming over to settle down upon our fair fields; while millions, moved by the noise of their rising and cheered by the news of their safe arrival and green pastures;

are preparing for flight in an endless succession.

Capitalists and landholders, who feel in Europe the premonitions of coming evil are transferring their treasures to our funds, and making large investments in land, and facilitating emigration to augment the value of their property. Our unoccupied soil is coming fast into the European market, and foreign capitalists and speculators are holding competition with our own. So that, were there no political and no ecclesiastical ends to be accomplished, the rapid influx upon us of such masses of uneducated mind of other tongues and habits would itself alone demand an immediate and earnest national supervision, on the same principles of self-preservation that would dyke out the ocean or turn the mountain torrent from carrying desolation over our fields. For the causes are mighty and radical which threaten

its inhabitants. It will be temporary, because so bright are the evidences of a superior power, and so frail and full of sorrow are men, and so guilty and full of fears, that if Christianity does not guide them to the true God and Jesus Christ, superstition will send them to the altars of demons.

But it is a contest, it is said, about religion—and religion and politics have no sort of connection. Let the religionists fight their own battles; only keep the church and state apart, and there is no danger.

It is a union of church and state, which we fear, and to prevent which we lift up our voice: a union which never existed without corrupting the church and enslaving the people, by making the ministry independent of them and dependent on the state, and to a great extent a sinecure aristocracy of indolence and secular ambition, auxiliary to

honor. It was the kings of the earth who gave their protection to a despotic form of corrupted Christianity; from which, when the power of superstition overmastered the sceptre, they have been taking it away.

But in republics the temptation and the facilities of courting an alliance with church power may be as great as in governments of less fluctuation. Amid the competitions of party and the struggles of ambition, it is scarcely possible that the clergy of a large denomination should be able to give a direction to the suffrage of their whole people, and not become for the time being the most favored denomination, and in balanced elections the dominant sect, whose influence in times of discontent may perpetuate power against the unbiased verdict of public opinion. The free circulation of the blood is not more essential to bodily health, than the easy, unob-

French Catholics, when often our destiny balanced on a pivot and hung upon a hair; and though it wept, and prayed, and fasted, and fought, and suffered through the revolutionary struggle, when there was almost no other creed but the Calvinistic in the land; still it is the opinion of many, that its well-doings of the past should not invest the system with implicit confidence, or supersede the scrutiny of its republican tendencies. They do not think themselves required to let Calvinists alone;—and why should they? We do not ask to be let alone, nor cry persecution when our creed or conduct is analyzed. We are not annoyed by scrutiny; we seek no concealment. We court investigation of our past history, and of all the tendencies of the doctrines and doings of the friends of the Reformation;—and *why should the Catholic religion be exempted from scrutiny?* Has it disclosed more vigorous

and at this moment is the main stay of the battle against republican institutions.

A despotic government and despotic religion may not be able to endure free inquiry, but a republic and religious liberty CANNOT EXIST WITHOUT IT.—

Where force is withdrawn, and millions are associated for self-government, the complex mass of opinions and interests can be reduced to system and order only by the collision and resolution of intellectual and moral forces.

To lay the ban of a fastidious charity on religious free inquiry, would terminate in unthinking apathy and the intellectual stagnation of the dark ages.

Whatever European nations may do, our nation must read and think from length to breadth, from top to bottom.

It is a perilous experiment we have adventured upon; but it is begun, and we cannot go back. For mind has felt its own power, and is girding itself for

“ But are not the Catholics sincere ? why not, then, let them alone ?” That they are sincere in their faith there can be no doubt. But what the republican tendency of their faith is, depends on *what* they believe, and not on the simple fact that they do believe it. If they believe in the rights and duties of universal education, of free inquiry, of reading and understanding the Bible, and in the liberty and equality of all religious denominations, and that they and we are accountable only to God and the laws of the land, it is well. But if they believe that the pope and the church are infallible,—that his ecclesiastical jurisdiction is universal,—that he and the priests have the power of eternal life or death, in the bestowment or refusal of pardon as they obey or disobey them,—that no man may read the Bible without the permission of the priesthood, or understand it but

republican institutions. They have a right to test the tendencies of protestantism by an appeal to history; and I, by an appeal to history, have a right to illustrate the coincidence between the political doctrines and the practice of the Catholic church, and to show that always they have been hostile to civil and religious liberty. The Catholics claim and exercise the liberty of animadverting on the doctrines and doings of Protestants, and we do not complain of it:—and why should they or their friends complain that we in turn should animadvert on the political maxims and doings of the Catholic church? *Must Catholics have all the liberty—their own and ours too?* Can they not endure the reaction of free inquiry? Must we lay our hand on our mouth in their presence, and stop the press? *Let them count the cost and such as cannot bear the scrutiny of free inquiry return where there is none;*

position of ecclesiastical authority, releasing subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and putting down and setting up the powers that be, or who have manifested a desire, or commenced the attempt, by the exclusion of lay trustees, to secure all church property in ecclesiastical hands.

Among the deliberations of the late Catholic convention, at Baltimore, they say, in their European correspondence, that one subject of consideration was,

“What is necessary to be done in regard to trustees, and the means of repressing their pretensions? It is known what disputes and scandals have arisen on this subject, and, it may be said, it is one of the greatest scourges of the church in the United States; and one of the priests, writing to a mutual friend in Europe, says: ‘The bishop has the happiness of governing his churches without church wardens. By this me-

the anti-republican governments of Europe may choose to thrust in upon us. Do these governments indulge a vain fear in thus environing the political influence of Americans, though only temporary residents, and even wayfaring men? And have we nothing to apprehend while European paupers flood us, and Europeans occupy the soil, rear institutions, wield the press, control suffrage, and rush up rapidly to a competition of numbers? Is our government so compact and iron-sinewed as to bid defiance, safely, to every possible disturbing influence from abroad, which can be made to bear upon it? Ought there not to be a governmental supervision of the subject of immigration, which shall place before the nation, annually, the number and general character of immigrants, that the whole subject may experience the animadversion of an enlightened public sentiment,

history, and present conduct of the papal church, where its power is unobstructed. To this end, a book is eminently needed, containing the authentic documents of the Catholic church, accessible to ministers and intelligent laymen of all denominations. These now are scattered through massy folios, or quoted in versatile discussions, and cannot be readily appealed to or consulted. A book of well authenticated documents, *without note or comment*, would nearly supersede the necessity of controversy, and afford ample material for public sentiment to act upon, which, while it would not encroach on the rights of Catholics, would, by no means, confide to their care the education of large and influential portions of our republic. A book of this description would not be invidious. If the Catholic system does not contain principles and usages adverse to

land. They have a right to do it, and, according to their principles, they ought to do it, and they are doing it, and they will do it, unless as a nation of republicans, jealous of our liberties, and prompt to sustain them by a thorough intellectual and religious culture as well as by the sword, we arise, all denominations and all political parties, to the work of national education.

“ The sole object of this argument touching the Catholics is not to repudiate them, but to present the facts in the case, and appeal to the nation, whether it will sustain its own institutions for the education of its own people, or depend on the charity of the Catholic despotic governments of Europe. I do it because when the facts are stated, and the eye of the nation is fixed on the subject, unless infatuation has fastened on us, there can be no doubt of the result. Education, intel-

all those orbs of light which are indispensable to the safety and perpetuity of our institutions. And were even those unmindful of their privilege and duty, a republican phalanx, such as once fought the battles and paid the taxes of the revolutionary war, would now command institutions for the defence of liberty to arise, as their fathers did the forts and munitions of their day. Every denomination would organize its willing multitude to give and toil till intelligence and holiness should cover the land as the waters cover the sea. But this various and superabundant ability and willingness of the nation must be called forth in plans of peaceable efficacy—the means must be multiplied of providing and sustaining the requisite host of qualified instructors. Institutions, male and female, must be endowed to secure cheaply, the requisite qualification. The national

both the religious and the political papers are beginning to lay aside the language of asperity and to speak the words of truth and soberness. Under such auspices we commit the subject to the guardianship of heaven, and the intelligent instrumentality of our beloved country.

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